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Ex-C.I.A. Head Now Works a Nuclear Freeze

By PHIL GAILLEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 13 — Eight years ago, while this city was undergoing its post-Watergate cleansing, William E. Colby did something unusual for a director of Central Intelligence.

He disclosed the agency's "family jewels," as its dark secrets and illegal activities were called by insiders, before a Senate committee. At the same time he turned over to the Justice Department the findings of an internal inquiry that led to the prosecution of Richard Helms, one of his predecessors, for lying to Congress about C.I.A. activities in Chile.

The agency's old guard reacted with harsh accusations and innuendoes. Some, including James J. Angleton, who had been ousted as head of counterintelligence by Mr. Colby, suggested at the time that he might be a Soviet mole; others accused Mr. Colby of paralyzing the agency's ability to conduct covert operations by kneeling before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence as if it were, in the words of one former C.I.A. director, "a mourner's bench." President Ford asked for Mr. Colby's resignation in late 1975.

These days Mr. Colby, who practices international law here, is again playing a surprising role for a former director of Central Intelligence. He has joined the public debate on nuclear arms control on the side of the Catholic bishops and the nuclear freeze movement, and this has brought a new round of criticism of Mr. Colby by some of his old C.I.A. colleagues who never forgave him for opening the agency's black bag to the world.

Known as a 'Soldier-Priest'

"My position is a little incongruous for a former C.I.A. man, and I understand that," he said, adding that, contrary to what some are saying, neither religion nor guilt brought him to his present view.

Still, friends and critics alike, including two former directors of Central Intelligence, suggest privately that Mr. Colby, known around the C.I.A. as the "soldier-priest," may be motivated in part by his deep commitment to his Roman Catholic faith and a sense of guilt from some of the most painful periods of his life.

After he was appointed C.I.A. Director in 1973, antiwar groups tacked up posters in Washington labeling Mr. Colby a "murderer" and war criminal for his role in directing Operation Phoenix, an effort to identify and recruit or imprison leaders of the Vietcong in South Vietnam. Some 20,000 Vietcong "suspects" were killed during the operation. Mr. Colby told a House committee that there had been some "excesses" despite his rules against illegal killings, but he insisted that the program had, on the whole, been successful.

Still, Mr. Colby was shaken by suggestions that he had condoned political assassinations. "How does it feel to be married to a war criminal?" he asked his wife when the posters went up.

His public tribulations were matched by his personal grief. In 1971 his eldest daughter died in Washington after a long illness, and friends say Mr. Colby, who was stationed in Vietnam during the years her health was deteriorating, felt a sense of guilt for not having spent more time with her.

Practical and Moral Aspects

Mr. Colby, whose poker player's face rarely betrays his emotions or private thoughts, nodded slightly as a reporter repeated this speculation about why he went from the cold to the freeze.

"If I were taking the other side, nobody would bat an eyebrow about it," he said. "I felt this way long before the bishops' letter came out and, in fact, I helped to some degree in explaining the issue to Catholic groups. I figure the priests can take care of the moral aspects and I'll talk about the practical aspects."

Mr. Colby, who is waging his personal freeze campaign on the speaking circuit and in newspaper columns, contends that his antinuclear activities are "a logical extension of what I was doing in the intelligence business."

He goes on: "At the C.I.A. it became obvious to me that the real function of intelligence is not to win battles but to help with the peace, to avoid the kind of destabilizing surprises that

can occur. It is clear to me that the arms race has us on the verge of another one of these terrible destabilizing steps that is moving us toward a hair-trigger world with all this talk of launch under attack. My God, we're talking about the fate of the world."

If Mr. Colby's former colleagues in the intelligence community are perplexed by the latest public role of this man who calls himself "an unreconstructed cold warrior," so are some liberals who have welcomed him into the ranks of the nuclear freeze movement despite his support for the Reagan Administration's policies in El Salvador and his unwavering defense of American involvement in Vietnam.

James R. Schlesinger, a former C.I.A. director, said that the freeze movement, "if anything but a political gesture, could be detrimental to the overall military balance." He said he did not doubt his former colleague's sincerity, but, like some other members of the national security community, said he felt that Mr. Colby's words were taking a turn toward stridency.

Mr. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, said he read with dismay Mr. Colby's recent remarks to an antinuclear group at Georgetown University. Mr. Colby told that audience: "I think it's time for people to take this matter away from the priesthood that has gotten us into this mess and to simply insist that we stop building these things."

In an interview, Mr. Schlesinger said: "I get restless, and I suspect others do too, over firebrand comments about a supposed nuclear priesthood. Bill knows better than that. Discussions regarding nuclear strategy have been quite open, more

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SOCIETY / Betty Beale

Ardeshir Zahedi, America's greatest host while posted here as the shah of Iran's ambassador, blew into town for two days, saw friends at the State Department and in the Senate, visited his former social secretary Jaleh Yazdan-Panah of the prominent Iranian family, who lies seriously ill at Georgetown University Hospital, and attended the OSS dinner at the Washington Hilton where former CIA director and ambassador to Iran Richard Helms was honored with the Bill

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Donovan Award.

Zahedi, looking even more full of health and vitality than on his last visit, also attended Henry Kissinger's birthday bash in New York. At the OSS dinner he was the guest of noted oilman John Shaheen. We all remember Shaheen's efforts to start a newspaper in the Big Apple, the New York Press, and the divine eight-day voyage to Bermuda he threw aboard the Queen Elizabeth 2 to publicize the venture, as well as that other time he chartered the QE2 to take 1,200 friends to the dedication of his oil refinery in Newfoundland. Those were the glamorous days.

Honoree Helms spoke for only 10 minutes at that dinner, but devoted all that time to America's need for in-depth institutes to study and understand Iranian, Soviet, etc., leaders and methods. "It's open knowledge in our government that we do not know how the Saudi royal family arrives at its decisions. The same applies to the Russian leadership," he said.

Scowcroft Commission's Life Is Extended for Two Years

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Reagan has decided to extend the life of the bipartisan Scowcroft commission for two years, administration officials said yesterday, in what one called "a guarantee of genuine follow-up on both arms control negotiations and the MX."

The Scowcroft panel, officially the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, has been the driving force behind the administration's thus far successful effort to obtain congressional approval of the MX intercontinental ballistic missile after two earlier defeats.

The commission is scheduled to go out of existence on June 16, but officials said Reagan will extend its life to Jan. 1, 1985, with the expectation that it would become "institutionalized" and continue in some form either in his second term or in another presidency.

Continuation of the commission is likely to be hailed with approval by moderate congressional Democrats who voted for the MX after Reagan told them he is as committed to genuine arms control negotiations with the Soviets as he is to deploying 100 of the MX missiles in existing Minuteman silos.

Some moderates called for appointment of a continuing advisory unit on arms control as a condition of support for MX.

Administration sources said that Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, a retired Air Force officer who served as national security affairs adviser to President Ford, had agreed to stay on as chairman, and that Thomas C. Reed, secretary of the Air Force in the Ford administration, would continue as vice chairman.

The retention of Reed, who has come under scrutiny by a federal grand jury and a congressional committee for a 1981 stock deal, could be controversial.

Reed resigned as White House consultant and deputy national security affairs adviser to the president after the Scowcroft commission submitted its report on April 6.

However, both the president and national security affairs adviser William P. Clark were said to be solidly in support of keeping Reed, the administration's MX expert, on the advisory panel, which would be headquartered in the Pentagon. Reed played a major role in Reagan's California gubernatorial campaigns, and served as first appointments secretary to Reagan as governor in 1967.

While Reagan won on MX last month, the White House recognizes that his support on the issue is potentially shaky and could disappear if the administration fails to adopt recommendations of the Scowcroft unit when the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) resume with the Soviet Union in Geneva Wednesday.

The commission called for "vigorous pursuit of arms control" and recommended that the administration change its arms reduction proposal to count warheads instead of weapons.

Reagan has promised to do this and to propose some version of a "build-down" proposal advocated by Sens. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and William S. Cohen (R-Maine) in which both sides would remove more than one older nuclear weapon for each new one they add to their arsenals.

But exactly how to revise the START proposal has been a subject for debate in the administration.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the president is considering options this weekend at Camp David in preparation for a probable decision when the National Security Council meets Tuesday.

The Scowcroft commission also recommended development of a small, single-warhead missile ultimately designed to replace the MX and research and development on "hardening" of the Minuteman silos to give them better protection against a Soviet strike.

Administration officials said continuation of the commission would ensure follow-through on these objectives, and on research for an anti-ballistic missile defense.

Scowcroft agreed to continue as chairman after being assured that the workload would be distributed under a new committee system, officials said. They said the full commission probably would meet only two or three times annually.

The 11-man commission includes prominent national security and science officials in four administrations, including Reagan's former secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig Jr., former CIA director Richard M. Helms and President Carter's Pentagon chief of research and development, William J. Perry.

Among the counselors to the commission are Henry A. Kissinger and Carter's secretary of defense, Harold Brown, who is said to have played a major role in the commission's deliberations.

Former secretaries of defense Melvin R. Laird, Donald H. Rumsfeld and James R. Schlesinger Jr., Carter White House counselor Lloyd N. Cutler and former CIA director John McCone are the other counselors.

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